The making of the London Notting Hill Carnival festivalscape: Politics and power and the Notting Hill Carnival

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role of politics and power in the Notting Hill Carnival's evolution from a community festival to a hallmark event and tourism product. It overcomes the limitations of previous event/festival tourism research by utilizing Actor Network Theory's conceptualization of power as an evolving, relational and transformational phenomenon to analyse the development of the Notting Hill Carnival's festivalscape. Findings reveal over its fifty-plus-year history, non-human actors (such as, money) and human actors (such as, organizing committees) have engaged in continuous, complex ordering processes that have led to the development of six distinct festival frames – Community Festival, Trinidad Carnival, Caribbean Carnival, Black Arts Festival, Business Opportunity and City-led Hallmark Festival. These changes have taken place within a festivalscape that includes objects, space, the translation process, pivotal events and dissenting actors. Within the festivalscape, political actors have exerted significant influence due to their asymmetrical power creating challenges for festival organizers.

1. Introduction

Traditionally, festivals were expressions of historical, social or cultural aspects of communities (Getz and Page, 2016) and they have remained central to the articulation of cultures (Gold and Gold, 2016). In contemporary societies, they are staged increasingly for their economic benefits. Festivals are critical to making cities more dynamic and liveable places (Richards, 2017). They increase leisure options for locals, attract new investment to an area, revitalize existing infrastructure and, in some cases, completely remodel a city's landscape.

Recent research continues to highlight that festivals staged for the benefit of tourists can lose their authenticity when they are distorted in pursuit of tourism goals (Overend, 2012). Whereas it is unfair to dismiss all manifestations of these of types of festivals as mere commercial pastiche, the tensions that result when local culture is used as part of tourism promotion are undeniable (Gibson and Connell, 2016).

The difficulties organizers and city officials have faced in balancing the interests involved when a festival is staged, both for the benefit of host communities and for the purposes of tourism, are well documented. It has been observed that contemporary festivals are spaces of conflict because of the opposing views of festival stakeholders (Todd et al., 2017) However, the literature has yet to explain how on-going conflicts and their resolution serve to develop and transform cultural celebrations, such as festivals, over time. The purpose of this paper is to

examine the transformation process of a local community celebration which became an international hallmark event attracting tourists. It uses the Actor Network Theory (ANT) and takes a process approach to examine the activities, interactions and outcomes of festival actors in the London Notting Hill Carnival (LNHC), formerly known as the Notting Hill Carnival (NHC), for just over 50 years. It adapts Van der Duim's, 2007 tourismscape to develop a festivalscape for the LNHC to make three distinctive contributions to event/festival tourism literature. Firstly, it reveals overarching patterns in festival development, thus going beyond the conflict that dominates examinations of festival politics in event/festival tourism research. Secondly, it provides an examination of festival politics, which shows how asymmetrical power relations impact festival networks. Thirdly, it advances van der Duim's (2007) tourismscape by demonstrating the importance of pivotal events and dissenting actors for the LNHC's festivalscape.

2. Politics and power in event/festival tourism

This paper traces the development of a community festival into a hallmark international tourist event and, as such, is situated within the literature of festival/event tourism, which is described as a form of special interest travel in which attendees undertake a journey for the purposes of attending an event or festival (Getz 2008). A great deal of the literature on tourism-driven festivals/events is devoted to exploring

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the politics and power relations which come from the unresolved tensions some festival/event sites embody (Browne, 2011; Laing and Mair, 2015; Markwell and Waitt, 2009). Politics and power relations are also central to research that examines the debates around the legitimacy of cultural expression from a community, which can result in an event or festival being excluded from a community's cultural narrative (Cornish, 2016).

Adapting a festival to incorporate tourists and commercial interests may reduce cultural expression to "a fetishized surplus value" (Nagle, 2005: 563) or gimmick used to sell ethnic products. For example, St. Patrick Day is an officially recognised Christian feast day in Ireland but in cities, such as New York and more lately London, these celebrations have become synonymous with drinking and with the Irish brand Guinness® (Nagle, 2008). Recent research has confirmed that festival commercialization through activities, such as the sale of souvenirs, local food and drink, are vital for tourist satisfaction (Kim, 2015). However, such associations can result in ambivalence among communities, needing the income that tourists and other commercial stakeholders bring into a festival, if they wish to preserve cultural authenticity. The adoption of sustainable development principles is critical if local communities are to avoid the commodification of indigenous festivals (Whitford and Dunn, 2014).

Organizers of tourism-driven festivals may purposely, or sometimes inadvertently, exclude socio-economic, ethnic or other groups (Clarke and Jepson, 2011; Quinn, 2010) even when they develop deliberate strategies of social inclusion. Usually these strategies are developed to engage visitors rather than residents, limiting the likelihood of inclusivity outcomes (Laing and Mair, 2015). Research has also demonstrated that when festivals/events display counter-cultures with their own distinct politics, there is frequently ambivalence about the festival's acceptance by the wider community. Funding for these events tends to come under public policy remits of inclusion or multi-culturalism, which are typically characterized by very narrow definitions of these constructs, thereby negating the potential for such initiatives to celebrate true cultural differences (Jackson, 1992; Markwell, 2002; Markwell and Waitt, 2009; Rushbrook, 2002).

Stakeholder analysis is a useful tool deployed within event/festival tourism literature to examine power and politics (Getz et al., 2006). These types of studies use Freeman's (1984) definition of stakeholders, which are groups or individuals that can be affected or affect an organization's purpose (Mitchell, Agle and Wood 1997 cited by Karlsen and Stenbacka Nordström, 2009). Karlsen and Stenbacka Nordström, 2009 used the International Marketing and Purchasing (IMP) framework of Activities and Resources to examine the interdependencies among stakeholders in festivals. Their findings suggested that the success of festivals was based on the adoption of stakeholder network management strategies classified as "long-stretched", "loose" and "glocal" network management strategies. Freire-Gibb and Lorentzen (2011) suggested festivals enable economic diversification by changing the pattern of stakeholder interactions at a location.

Yet another advancement in the examination of power and politics within event/festival tourism is Larson's (2002, 2009) work on festival networks and the relationship-building process, which viewed stakeholder interactions as a "political market square". Social Network Analysis (SNA) has been harnessed similarly to explore intra- and inter-festival network relationships (Jarman et al., 2014; Williams et al., 2017).

These perspectives are limited, however, since none of them explore the transformational aspects of politics and power relations. Their limitations lie in the way they conceive the politics and the resulting power relations in festivals. They are conceived either as a source of ongoing, unresolved tension (Browne, 2011; Laing and Mair, 2015; Markwell and Waitt, 2009) or as a phenomenon to be understood through classification of relationships (Larson, 2009; Williams et al., 2017). This is because power is seen as fixed, which overlooks its ever-changing, relational nature. Power in this paper, as in ANT research, is

conceived not as something that is fixed or possessed but is generated through persuasion (Munro, 2009). These persuasions or processes of alignment are what cause festivals and events to be transformed over time. This paper seeks to carry out an examination by utilizing ANT, which embraces the relational and transformational aspects of power relations.

3. Actor network theory

Whereas stakeholder analysis is focused on the classification of individuals/groups and SNA studies the social relations of individual human actors (Latour, 1996), ANT is concerned with how actors, both human and non-human, form networks, as well as how the actions of these actors lead to these networks falling apart and later reforming. Thus, an actor within ANT is anything or anyone whose activity leads to the formation or failure of a network. van der Duim (2007) specifically highlights three elements of ANT which may be useful for examining the evolution of tourism phenomena, such as festivals; these are the principle of symmetry, the importance of social spaces and the processes of translation.

3.1. Symmetry

Symmetry means that objects are equally as important as human actors. ANT proposes every situation is the result of ongoing associations among actors (Latour, 2005). When conducting ANT analysis, researchers have been cautioned to focus on the network rather than on individual entities, which allows identification of the role of objects, including hotels, airports and entertainment, making activities possible (Urry, 2002). The interplay of human and non-human actors, such as buses (Farías, 2010) and performing animals (Cloke and Perkins, 2005), is increasingly being studied in tourism to understand how experiences are staged for visitors.

3.2. Social spaces

The second feature of interest is at the core of how ANT conceptualises social spaces. A broader view has emerged that attempts to integrate the characteristics of travel and tourism that enable multiple evolving modalities of physical, social and mental space (Crouch, 2000). The meaning of these tourism spaces is constructed and reconstructed over time by mobilizing elements, such as actors, funding, information, brands and imagery (Sheller and Urry, 2004). Locations can be viewed as dynamic "tourismscapes" (van der Duim, 2007), in which visitors, suppliers, non-human actors, buildings and technological systems interact over time.

Thus, ANT is not merely a theoretical lens but also shapes the direction of inquiry (Law and Urry, 2004; Murdoch, 2006) as it encourages researchers to follow the process of how resources, tasks and meaning is assigned to actors, not merely the outcomes (Latour, 2005). One approach in the tourism domain has categorised this process as a "tourismscape" (Van der Duim, 2007). Spaces are developed within tourismscapes (Murdoch, 2006) linked to locations where activities are performed and can shape the process of relation-building and reconfiguration by actors. These spaces may be permanent, in the form of hotels or temporary, in the form of festivals (Zukin, 2010). In the latter, they can become a source of conflict since public and private actors may apply differing claims to a given space. These spaces may be real, such as beaches that tourists interact with (Ren, 2010), or imagined (Lengkeek, 2002), such as depictions in brochures.

3.3. Translation

The third element identified by van der Duim (2007) is translation (Latour, 1987). Translation follows phases rather than stages because distinction between states is not clear cut and progress is not a

deterministic path from initiation to the end. At the beginning of translation, a focal actor frames the problem and identifies the identities and interests of other actors that would need to be engaged to achieve its own interests (Rodger et al., 2009).

The focal actor then identifies an Obligatory Passage Point (OPP) under its control (Callon, 1986). The OPP influences interactions in the network and defines the basis of negotiations (Revellino and Mouritsen, 2017). Previous festival research has identified a number of OPPs, including identity (Ivakhiv, 2005) and the requirements of funders. The focal actor then encourages the required participants to align interests, despite holding different views, in order to achieve the outcomes they are seeking.

If this alignment process is successful, the OPP is defined (Sidorova and Sarker, 2000) and members are enrolled in the network. Convergence of network members may occur in which they may align activities to maintain compatibility with each other and the OPP is institutionalized (van der Duim, 2007). Members seeking to join after this point will have to invest the resources required to become compatible or will not be able to participate. Translation is ultimately driven by the shifting power dynamics that play out in networks.

3.4. ANT and festivals and events

Recent events management research includes a few studies in which ANT properties have been used to examine the interactions of participants and physical elements in an obstacle course event (Weedon, 2015), as well as the enrolment of animals in a network embedded in an equine event (Graham and McManus, 2015). Of interest, is the study of Gustafsson et al., (2014), which is an attempt to develop a hallmark event, highlighting the difficulties in framing by the focal actor and the initiative's failure. However, these papers examine the interactions of actors over a short period and focus on a single-framing of an event. This paper seeks to use ANT to understand the actor interactions evolving over more than 50 years. It goes beyond existing literature on festival politics and actor dynamics, as well initial applications of ANT to festivals and events, to show how the interplay of human and non-human actors combine to achieve multiple successive frames of an event over time.

4. The research context

Six key types of festival actors have been central to the shaping of the NHC's successive networks and these are detailed in Table 1. The Notting Hill area, like the festival sharing its name, has undergone radical changes over time. In the decade immediately preceding the staging of the Notting Hill Festival in 1964, it was characterized by 'down-at-heel', cheap lodgings, mainly occupied by immigrants from the old Commonwealth (Batty et al., 2003). Most of the original immigrant

population moved away from Notting Hill by the 1990s and they were replaced by wealthy, younger residents, typically white and British, from middle-class backgrounds (Batty et al., 2003). However, the area has retained some poorer neighbourhoods and has attracted a new wave of ethnic minority settlement in the form of a Moroccan community (Martin, 2005). This heterogeneous mix of residents, along with its quaint shops, boutique pubs and restaurants, gives the area a bohemian character. Much like the contemporary LNHC, the area is a mixture of cultures and traditions. See Table 2.)

Changing the event's name from the 'Notting Hill Carnival' to the 'London Notting Hill Carnival' is part and parcel of this heterogeneity. It is undoubtedly what Jago and Shaw (1998) define as a hallmark event because it is now synonymous with the Notting Hill area and also the city of London, which derives significant benefits from the hundreds of thousands of visitors flocking to the event every year. These benefits include £93 million in visitor spending and 3000 full-time equivalent jobs annually (Webster and Mckay, 2016).

5. Methodology

The research combines 27 in-depth interviews with archival research from documents setting out the early history of the NHC (a listing of archival documents used for this paper is provided in Appendix 3). This study sought to understand the evolution of associations among actors over time (Larson, 2009); therefore, the interview and archival review process were designed to identify and understand incidents. Appendix 1 illustrates a sample interview guide. Initial respondents were selected from the key festival actor groups identified in Table 1. The interviewees were purposively sampled by their history and specific responsibilities within the event (see Appendix 2). They belonged to both past and present festival actor groups with specific responsibilities for planning and organizing the event, including organizing bodies, cultural organizations and statutory bodies. The duration of their involvement ranged from more than 40 years to less than 10 years. Their identities were kept anonymous and interviewees in the paper are referred to as "I", followed by their interview number.

Analysis procedures followed an iterative approach that incorporated open and axial coding of text data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Each author read transcribed interviews a minimum of 3 times before independently open coding text at the sentence level independently to provide an initial understanding of the data (Todd et al., 2017). The open codes were then reviewed and events and incidents identified in the text were used to search archives to find supporting documents See Table 3 for example.

Archival data was used to confirm and supplement the content of interviews, which also reduced potential subjectivity, increasing the validity of the study (Miller et al., 1997). Text segments from these

Table 1
Key Festival Actor Groups within the Notting Hill Carnival.

Festival Actor Groups	Description
Organizing Committees	Following the departure of Rhuane Laslett, a number of organizing committees have assumed responsibility for the overall organization of the event. They work in conjunction with other key festival actors to deliver the festival programme and the festival's overall mission.
Cultural Organizations	These organizations deliver the cultural elements of the Notting Hill Carnival, which are primarily the steel band competition, the costumed parades and the static sound system for street parties. These groups are known as steel bands, masquerade bands and static sound systems.
Statutory Funding Bodies	There are three key state funding bodies providing financial support to the Notting Hill Carnival. First is the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Council (RBKC), since the majority of the Notting Hill Carnival's activities take place within that borough. Secondly, the Greater London Authority (GLA), which includes the Notting Hill Carnival among the London events it supports; thirdly, the Arts Council England (ACE) funds masquerade bands, steel bands and the cultural arena associations.
Emergency and Transportation Services	In order for an event to be delivered on the scale and scope of the Notting Hill Carnival, emergency and transportation services need to be involved. These services include the British Transport Police (BTP); the London Ambulance Service NHS Trust (LAS); the London Fire and Emergency Protection Authority (LFEPA); the London Underground Limited (LUL); the Metropolitan Police (MPS); St John Ambulance (SJA); and Transport for London (TFL).

Table 2
Main Activities Featured During the Notting Hill Carnival Holiday Weekend.

When	Activities	Cultural traditions displayed
2 days before Carnival Monday	Panorama – Champions of Steel Competition (organized by the British Association of Steel Bands)	Features the music of steel bands, a musical tradition from Trinidad & Tobago.
1 day before Carnival Monday	J'Ouvert (organized by the British Association of Steel Bands)	J'Ouvert features a parade tradition that is found in Trinidad & Tobago, as well as other Caribbean islands that have these types of parade.
	Children's costumed parade (organized by the Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation)	This costumed parade features masquerade forms originating from Trinidad and other Caribbean islands, as well as other countries, such as Britain.
	Static sound system street parties (organized by the British Association of Sound Systems)	Sound systems although originating from a Jamaican reggae tradition, currently features music from throughout the Caribbean, Latin America, North America, Africa and Britain.
Carnival Monday	Static sound system street parties continue (organized by the British Association of Sound Systems)	-Same as above-
	Adults costumed parade (organized by the Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation)	The adult costumed parade features masquerade forms mainly from Trinidad, as well as prominent countries such as Barbados, Grenada and Brazil.

documents were also extracted and open coded. Once confirmed, incidents and concepts raised in interviews were used to guide further archival searches and identify additional interview respondents. Other historical publications were also used to give context to the findings and supply specific details unknown to interviewees.

At the end of the data collection process, interviews and documents were arranged in temporal order and axial coding was performed to identify conceptual relationships among events, actors, spaces and associations (McKeever et al., 2015). Themes were then identified independently by each author from the codes that described the duration and content of a temporal period. These themes were discussed and a final theme assigned to the temporal period.

The analysed data, grouped by theme, were used to create narratives that provided a rich description of frames held by actor groups, mobilizing elements and associations among key actors (Langley, 1999). These narratives were analysed subsequently to create visual maps (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Pratt, 2009.) in the form of tables to identify translations and outcomes for each chronological era labelled by theme. See Fig. 1 and Table 3.

6. Findings and analysis: the development of the Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape

6.1. Initial framing: community festival (1964–1969)

Previous tourism research utilizing ANT has shown the development of cultural products is not the result of a "rigid rational approach" but the adoption of a conditional path in which actions are taken in response to certain pivotal events (Arnaboldi and Spiller, 2011: 652). Studies have also noted the importance of the focal actor or 'Leader Translator' in the innovation of tourism products, who can convince other actors of the worth of their visions (Paget et al., 2010). Both these aspects are demonstrated in the initial framing of the festival by its founder, Rhuane Laslett, who set up the festival in 1964 as a means of

combating racial tensions and bringing together a divided community. These tensions were apparent in the response to an invited group of steel band players (see Table 2 for a brief explanation of steel bands), who decided to stage an impromptu parade during the event. Some residents of the area mistook their actions for a protest and shouted abuse at the players. I10 remembers:

> "[…] while they [steel band players at the Notting Hill Festival] were playing, people were saying 'What are you protesting about?' 'Go back from where you come from', that sort of thing […]."
>
>   I10 (member of participating steel band organization).

However, the community festival did attract support from many in the area. Archived press documents highlight a range of immigrant groups and local organizations participating in the event. Costumes were donated from Madame Tussaud's, a local hairdresser did the hair and make-up free of charge, the gas board and fire brigade had floats that featured in the event and stallholders in the Portobello market donated horses and carts (Younge, 2002). In this first framing, the streets of Notting Hill were also an important actor. As is the case with other tourismscapes, the space in which the NHC is situated is one which is constructed and reconstructed over time (Sheller and Urry, 2004). During this first phase, the steel band players through their interactions with the streets, began reconfiguring the Notting Hill Festival into a Caribbean Carnival by establishing a parade route, which would later become the focus of the event:

> "Year by year, they [players in the steel band] began gradually extending their march through the streets of Notting Hill until they achieved a semblance of a route."
>
>   I10 (member of participating steel band organization).

During this initial phase the Notting Hill Festival was renamed Notting Hill Carnival.
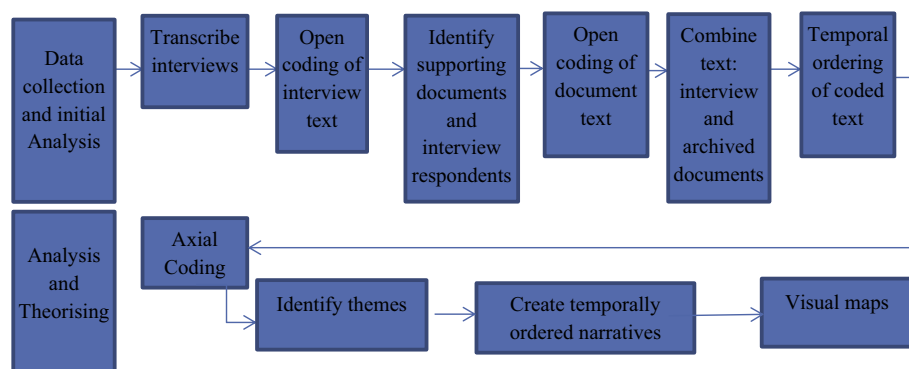

Fig. 1. Data collection and analysis procedures.

Table 3
Extract of table of assigned codes.

Raw Data Examples	Open Code	Axial Code	Theme (Researcher1)	Theme (Researcher2)	Final Assigned theme
"… it was all very competitive …when Virgin sponsored Carnival, British Airways paid some man something like £20,000 to put up banners on the screens to interrupt the whole Virgin process. We managed to get him knocked off." - I18	Funding competition	Funding	Commercial Carnival	Competition in Carnival	Business Opportunity
"At least when we had Claire we had money […] back in [those] days we use to win prizes and we [my band] used to make at least £2000 from being on the road." – I8	Band	Funding	Commercial Carnival	Commercial Carnival	Business Opportunity

6.2. Second framing: Trinidadian carnival (1969–1974)

As the event began to shift in appearance from a community festival to a Carnival that focused on a parade, attendance increased from an initial 1000 people (Younge, 2002) to 10,000 attendees. A significant number of individuals of Afro-Caribbean descent enthusiastically embraced the changing appearance of the festival and began to make their own contribution to the framing. The number of steel bands, which played steel pan music native to Trinidad, increased during this period and they also introduced the Trinidadian Carnival tradition of playing 'mas' by forming masquerade bands (see Table 2 for a brief explanation of these bands) and participating in the parade. I12 remembers:

> "… it was about '71, '72 and the [steel] band started coming out with mas' and, at that time, there wasn't many mas' bands in Ladbroke Grove."
>
> I12 (member of participating steel band organization).

Perhaps this also led to both the intentional and unintentional exclusion of other festival actors, among them the festival's founder. In the early years of the festival's development, an uneasy relationship emerged between the Afro-Caribbean attendees and participants and the event organizer Rhuane Laslett, who was of European and Native American ancestry. A recently published history of the NHC tells of Laslett having a vision of a multi-cultural festival and this subsequently led to her applying for the licence to host the Notting Hill Festival (Blagrove and Busby, 2014). I18 recalled conversations with Laslett, which revealed the founder of the NHC was "hurt" by the recasting of the event as one with Afro-Caribbean origins and that she felt her role as founder and her initial vision of a multi-cultural festival was negated by subsequent organizers. The current history of the event on the London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust traces the origins of the festival to indoor Carnival celebrations organized by Trinidadian Claudia Jones (LNHCET, 2016).

Laslett had not intended to host an event focused primarily on the Afro-Caribbean community so, understandably, there was tension when Caribbean Carnival lovers kept coming forward following the first staging of the event with suggestions to make the event better (i.e. more like the Carnivals in the Caribbean and the Trinidad Carnival, in particular) (La Rose, 2004). Moreover, when the focus of the event became the culture of the Afro-Caribbean community in Britain, it became intertwined with the ascendance of Black power movements and to surveillance from the police, which was ultimately something for which the festival's founder did not want responsibility (Younge, 2002).

In 1969, Laslett relinquished leadership of the event to an Afro-Caribbean leadership, who, like the participating steel bands, made their own changes to the event, many of which can be attributed to Trinidadian-born Leslie Palmer, who was interested in growing attendance at the festival. He thought this would be best achieved by introducing Trinidadian traditions to the Carnival. He is reputed to have encouraged, cajoled and recruited people to create Trinidad-style mas' bands, which were separate and apart from those formed by steel bands. Thus, at the 1973 and 1974 Carnivals, the Trinidadian Carnival traditions of steel bands and masquerade were the focus of the event (La

Rose, 2004), making these celebrations very much reminiscent of the Trinidad Carnival.

6.3. Third framing: Caribbean carnival (1975–1981)

In 1975, Leslie Palmer continued his "Trinidadianizing" of the event, taking inspiration from a fact-finding visit undertaken in 1974 to study the organizational structures in place to manage the Trinidadian Carnival (La Rose, 2004). In 1975, a Carnival Development Committee (CDC) was established based on an organization that Palmer had met with in Trinidad bearing the same name. However, in the same year, he made a change to the festival that shifted the framing of the event from that of a Trinidadian Carnival to a Caribbean Carnival when he took the decision to invite Jamaican DJs to play at the event. This decision, combined with inviting a radio station to broadcast live from the event, transformed the event from one with a primarily local audience in the tens of thousands to a hallmark event attracting 250,000 attendees from London and its environs (Gutzmore, 1982). I18 in reference to this decision, noted that although Palmer's involvement with the NHC was not long, it was indeed significant:

> "Leslie, he didn't stay long, he stayed long enough though to achieve that very important thing"
>
> I18 (former member of festival organization).

The theme of exclusion emerged again during this period as Jamaican reggae replaced steel bands as the main source of music at the event. I12, in reference to the pounding reggae sounds emanating from the DJ's sound systems, explained:

> "Once people get used to listening to music at a certain volume, forget it, they can't hear [steel band] pan music after that."
>
> I12 (member of participating steel band).

This change is one that was also lamented by masquerade bands because it meant that live music was supplanted by recorded music:

> "[…] now the steel bands are separate from the costumed bands and they go [a]round at a different time. To me, that's such a terrible shame. To us [live] music on the street is an absolute crucial thing […]"
>
> I3 (member of participating masquerade band).

At the same time, new actors were enrolled, such as the Arts Council Great Britain (ACGB), which began funding the event when attendance grew exponentially and the newly-formed CDC argued its artistic merits. The numbers of Jamaican immigrants and British-born youth of Afro-Caribbean heritage attending the event also increased (Cohen, 1993). Cohen (1980) suggested that the addition of sound systems playing reggae music which spoke of violence, blood and police oppression, tapped into the newly-established counter-culture that was growing among the British born youth of Caribbean heritage. Many of them had grown up alienated in a hostile environment of racial discrimination. Moreover, the biggest single group of Caribbean immigrants to Britain were from Jamaica, which did not share Trinidad's Carnival traditions of steel and masquerade bands.

The enrolment of these new actors also attracted a dissenting group of actors in the form of the Carnival Arts Committee (CAC), which had a vision of re-shaping the NHC as an event to be used for uplifting the Black community in Britain. Consequently, it obtained funding from the Council for Racial Equity (CRE) and the Greater London Council's (GLC) Black Arts Steering Group (Cohen, 1993). This contrasted with the CDC, which intended for the event to be an apolitical artistic display.

Previous research has also highlighted that the 1975 NHC, like other large-scale events, became a target for pick pockets and other perpetrators of petty crimes, which exacerbated the increasingly tense relationship between the festival's attendees and the police. This was because the latter were not prepared for the dramatic rise in numbers attending and were powerless to stop the criminal activity taking place (Cohen, 1993). In 1976, the police compensated by deploying 1500 officers to the event. Jackson (1988), among other researchers, described policing of the event as heavy-handed and the cause of what became known as the Notting Hill Riots, which saw both police officers and festival attendees injured in violent clashes. Throughout the remaining years of the decade, the streets of Notting Hill continued to be a stage on which the tense race relations between the primarily white police force and the primarily black festival attendees would be acted out. Table 4 details the development of the Notting Hill Carnival festivalscape up to this point.

6.4. Fourth framing: Black arts festival (1981–1987)

From 1981 onwards, the evolution of the NHC festivalscape would be increasingly driven by external concerns, such as funding, public opinion and the political agendas of funding organizations. Notably,

rivalry between the CAC and CDC in 1981 resulted in ACGB withdrawing its funding from the latter organization, citing ambiguity surrounding the event's leadership as the reason. The CDC, which had become dependent on the ACGB's funding, collapsed whilst the CAC, which had other sources of funding from the CRE and GLC, took over leadership. Their framing of the event as a celebration of Black Arts fitted in well with public sector funding initiatives directed at ethnic minority art, such as those offered by CRE and the GLC (Cohen, 1993). The ACGB, during this period, also funded the masquerade bands participating in the festival through its own Ethnic Arts Working Group. The success of the CAC's framing was evident in the increased funding to the event, which was recorded in archived ACGB meeting notes for the 1984/85 Carnival period. See Table 5.

Cohen (1993) also provides further evidence of the success of the CAC's framing of the event by highlighting that in the years following the CAC assuming leadership of the event, a number of stakeholders publicly pledged their support for the Carnival. A glossy magazine was produced about the Carnival which included statements of endorsement from the British Prime Minister, leaders of the UK's main political parties, Scotland Yard chiefs and the Mayors of several London boroughs, suggesting their successful enrolment into the festivalscape. Additionally, attendance at the event during this period reached 1 million attendees.

The inability of the CDC to preserve its framing of NHC as a Caribbean Carnival and the subsequent success of the CAC's framing highlights the relational nature of power (Foucault, 1984). The CAC's bid to change the framing of the event was successful because of the power conferred upon the organization by state funding bodies (who could exert greater power than other actors). This situation also

Table 4
Development of the Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape (1964–1981)
Source: Adapted from Van der Duim (2007).

	Community Festival 1964-1969	**Trinidadian Carnival 1969-1974**	**Caribbean Carnival 1975-1981**
Objects acting on the festivalscape (symmetry)	Community donated floats, horses and carts, costumes and make-up come together to contribute to a multi-cultural festival.	Steel pans and mas' (Trinidadian inspired costumes) become the focal objects of the Notting Hill Carnival to produce an event very much reminiscent of the Trinidad Carnival.	Sound systems and reggae music, stalls selling Jamaican beer and food fuse with Trinidad steel pan music and mas' playing to create a Caribbean fusion event.
Social Space	The streets provide relief from cramped conditions and a parade setting to animate the event.	The streets become a place of surveillance as the festival becomes dominated by the cultural forms of the Afro-Caribbean residents of Notting Hill.	The streets become a place of protest as black attendees clash with a white Police force, acting out the racial tensions that existed during the period.
Focal actor and festival framing	Rhuane Laslett, social worker and activist wishing to bring together a divided community.	Leslie Palmer, Trinidadian-born, school teacher wished to create festival based on Trinidad Carnival.	CDC seeks to develop a Caribbean fusion event that would attract youth and Jamaican immigrants without Carnival tradition.
Obligatory passage point	Part of Notting Hill's multi-cultural community.	Part of the Trinidadian Carnival tradition.	Part of the Afro-Caribbean community in Notting Hill.
Enrolment of actors	Actors enrolled included the local gas board, fire brigade, Portobello market stall holders and a local steel band.	Actors enrolled included an increasing number of steel bands and mas' bands (Trinidadian-style costumed masquerade).	Actors enrolled included Jamaican DJs and funding body ACGB.
Pivotal events (context of the festival framing)	The existence of racial tensions and community divisions.	The demands of Caribbean Carnival lovers for a Carnival like the ones they remembered from their home countries.	Growing racial tensions and the oppressive discrimination suffered by an increasing number of Black British-born youth.

(Translation brackets the rows "Focal actor and festival framing", "Obligatory passage point", and "Enrolment of actors".)

demonstrates how asymmetrical power is created inside the network-building process (Law, 1999). It is through their enrolment and participation in the festival network that state funding bodies were subsequently able to acquire their asymmetric power and effect significant change. This becomes particularly evident in subsequent translations of the event. See Table 8 in Section 6.6.

Despite, the initial success of the CAC during this period, as has been the case with previous framings of the NHC, there were a few dissenting actors within its growing festivalscape. The police, for example, continued to have a contentious relationship with attendees. As one media source observed, during the 1980s "law and order became the main Press angle [that was taken to report on the Carnival], obscuring the growth of the Carnival disciplines" (Touch Magazine, 1996: 6). A 1983 archived ACGB report also revealed criticisms of the CAC, which included: not looking for sponsorship, not doing a hard sell of the magazine and charging too little for stalls (Stote et al., 1983). Residents, who, by this time, were increasingly white and middle class, also became critical of the event organizers. Following the first fatality at the Carnival and a major confrontation between the police and spectators in 1987, an archived letter from the ACGB revealed a petition from residents to relocate the festival (Smith, 1987). I21, a participating member of a sound system, remembered the year as one in which the relative freedom under which the sound systems operated was curtailed:

"After a man was killed over a can of Pepsi, all the unlicensed bars stopped and new restrictions came into effect."

> 121. (member of participating sound system)

In that year also, auditors Coopers and Lybrand, commissioned by the RBKC, highlighted perceived fiscal incompetence and corruption in a report, which was leaked to the press; it eventually led to mass resignations among CAC board members. I18 explained because the CAC was an unpaid, part-time organization, they had no money to pay professional accountants for bookkeeping services so it was "assumed that they had been stealing money".

Although none of the allegations against the CAC were ever proven, the combination of allegations and mounting pressures from other dissenting actors resulted in total failure of the Black Arts Framing of the NHC, highlighting how interplay of human and non-human actors can bring about translation failure. Dissenting human actors, combined with the gentrified Notting Hill streets, the leaked Coopers and Lybrand report and the resulting allegations, proved to be too much for the CAC. Their experience also demonstrates the dangers festival organizations can face when they accept public funding without sufficient accountability infrastructure as it subjects them to a level of scrutiny for which they may be unprepared. In the case of the CAC, the reputational damage from unproven allegations was substantial:

"[…] all the police did was disrupt people's lives and hurt a lot of people with their wild allegations. A lot of people got mangled in it. The police and the council did that […]"

> I18 (former member of festival organization).

Table 5
Public Funds for the Notting Hill Carnival for 1984/85.
Source: Adapted from ACGB (1985).

Funding Body	Amount (£)
Commission for Racial Equality (now defunct)	17,000
Royal Borough for Kensington and Chelsea (for toilets and cleaning)	27,000
Greater London Council (now GLA) through Black Arts Steering Group	69,962
Arts Council Great Britain (these funds went directly to masquerade bands)	37,000
Total	150,962

Table 6
Major Public and Private Sector Funding Sources (1995–1999).

Funding Source	Amount (£)[a]
Title Sponsorship	350,000
London Arts Council - During this period London Arts Council (a successor to ACGB) funded the organizing body directly	60,000
London Boroughs Grant Scheme	60,000
Stall Rentals	69,995[b]
Main Live Stage (where popular artists and DJs performed)	45,000
Total	584,995

[a] These amounts were raised on an annual basis.
[b] This figure was estimated based on averages calculated for the different types of stall available at the Carnival. The total number of stalls at the carnival was taken as 40, in accordance with the LDA's (2003) economic impact report; interviewee 18's estimates were used to calculate individual stall rentals shown in Table 6.

6.5. Fifth framing: business opportunity (1989–2002)

Despite the collapse of the CAC and what I18 described as a "crisis" for the Notting Hill Carnival, the processes for ordering the festivalscape continued:

"[…] Alex was resigning, this one was resigning […] there was nobody left and in May 1989, there was a public meeting at the Tabernacle where about 300 people gathered and they voted to start again."

> I18 (former festival organization member).

The CAC was, at this point, £200,000 in debt and, following the accusations of fiscal incompetence made against the former organizers, a new organization body was formed that sought to frame the NHC as a business opportunity. In support of this, the festival community chose the name Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Limited (NHCEL). Its aim was to make the NHC less dependent on public sources of income. The success of the framing became evident in the mid-1990s when corporate brands became title sponsors of the NHC. I18, who was part of the NHCEL during this period, shared how the financial picture for the festival drastically changed in the years 1995–1999. See Tables 6 and 7.

In addition to title sponsorship, stall rentals and rental of the main live stage also became sources of funding, highlighting the successful enrolment of new commercial actors into the festivalscape. Touch Magazine (1996) noted that popular music artists Destiny's Child, Ice Cube and Jamiroquai all performed at the NHC during the 1990s. Moreover, attendance at the festival during this period was estimated to reach 2million (Nurse 1999), with an increasing number of overseas tourists attending the event. As has been noted by Kim (2015), festival commercialization is an important predictor of tourist satisfaction; therefore, it is, perhaps, not surprising that when Coca-Cola and other commercial brands chose the NHC to launch and promote their products, more tourists were drawn to the event. I18 explained that during this period, the NHC's commercial success made it an example of successful festival tourism Carnival organizers in Europe wished to emulate:

Table 7
Revenue from Stall Rentals.

Based on Interviewee 18's estimates	Amount (£)
20 ordinary stalls bringing in an income of between £110 and £240 (this was averaged as 165 × 20)	3300.00
5 Ice-cream stalls which each brought in £460	2300.00
15 bar sites bringing incomes averaging at around £4293 × 15	64,395.00
Total	69,995.00

"[…] Europeans began to wake up to what was going on in Notting Hill and every year they would send delegations to Notting Hill and we would sit down and go through our structure. People from Rotterdam, people from FECC [Federation of European Carnival Cities]. We were even given pride of place in the World Carnival Organization. Everybody hung on our every word."

I18 (former festival organization member).

It is at this point that NHC became widely recognised as a successful hallmark event and tourism product and the streets of Notting Hill became known as the venue for "Europe's largest street party". I15 recalled the sheer revelry as the festival's popularity soared:

"It was amazing, the police moved cars out of the way to make room for people to dance."

I15 (member of participating sound system).

Participating cultural organizations, especially masquerade bands, remember this period with some fondness because it was a time when they received funding from the festival organization to defray their costs:

"At least when we had Claire we had money […] back in [those] days we use to win prizes and we [my former band] used to make at least £2000 from being on the road."

I8 (member of participating masquerade band).

It also meant that individual participating cultural organizations became able to attract sponsorship, even though they may not have had overt commercial objectives. The ability to attract sponsorship was a necessary benefit in an environment that was more closely monitored and required payment of licences and other fees:

"[…] it's not even like setting out to get into sponsorship, I couldn't manage the weight no more, yeah at first it weren't bad […] but then everything went up, everything went up, yeah the fees went up, then there were fees that you never had to pay […]"

I17 (member of participating sound system).

At this stage, the unpredictably of developing cultural products is especially stark because what started as a community event aimed at residents was now an international event attracting tourism and commercial sponsorship. In addition, the role of pivotal events in framing and re-framing of cultural products is highlighted (Arnaboldi and Spiller, 2011). In this case, a leadership and financial crisis led to the development of commercially-driven framing for the festival.

Not all actors viewed this framing of the NHC in a positive light. Media reports expressed fears that "traditional elements", which were viewed as masquerade bands and steel bands by this time, would be "totally eclipsed by the combined effects of commercial pressure and cultural apathy" (Tuckey, 1996, p.7). Additionally, attendance figures at the event created unprecedented challenges for the police and local councils in managing health and safety at the event. Moreover, residents made fresh calls for the festival to be relocated. Notably, absent from the recollections of interviewees and archival documents was the mention of sustainable development initiatives, which are critical in avoiding the social ills of commercialization (Whitford and Dunn, 2014). However, it should also be noted that along with the typical drawbacks associated with commercialization, the process was also one that empowered participating organizations by transforming their cultural assets into economic, as well as political, assets (Cole, 2007). After becoming a commercial success, the participating masquerade bands were given national recognition when they were included in Queen Elizabeth II's Golden Jubilee celebrations, which was, for some, an important milestone in their journey to become legitimate artists:

"We did the Queen's Golden Jubilee. It was fantastic. They booked a coach and fed us. I think that is how we got recognised […]"

127 (member of participating masquerade band).

6.6. Current framing: city-led hallmark tourism product (2002-present)

The successes enjoyed by the NHCL proved to be temporary. The deaths of two people at the 2000 Carnival prompted another review of the festival concerning its health and safety arrangements, which was initially published by the GLA in 2001 and updated in 2004. Among its key recommendations was improved stewarding at the event to control the increasing numbers (GLA Carnival Review Group, 2001). Additionally, according to I18, the festival "lost a great deal of its reputation resources" following the 2000 Carnival, so the event was unable to secure title sponsorship. There were also fresh calls from residents that the festival be relocated. The pivotal event that would trigger translation failure was implementation of the increased stewarding and the subsequent delay in payment for these stewards. I18 explained that the GLA agreed to provide the NHC organizers with £200,000 for this additional expense but kept delaying so the organizers were forced to use their reserves to pay the stewards, which fuelled allegations of corruption against the Head of the Festival Organization, Claire Holder, who was later fired by her own board of directors.

She would eventually be found innocent years later (Howe, 2005) but as was the case when the CAC was dissolved, her dismissal led to a fundamental reframing of the NHC, utilizing many of the recommendations in the GLA's strategic review. It was reframed as a hallmark event, produced and regulated by the City of London. According to I4, after participation of masquerade bands in the Queen's Jubilee, a number of the festivalscape's stakeholders began to realize the significant political resource the Carnival had become and sought to seize control, making the subsequent reframing possible:

"… during the Golden Jubilee year […] people [masquerade band leaders and other festival stakeholders] starting seeing the benefits of performing coming […] and what did they do? They ganged up and got rid of Claire Holder […] and they've never recovered, so sponsors and funding and all of those various things, they killed it."

Evidence of the reframing can be found in the re-naming of the event and the festival organization as the London Notting Hill Carnival and the London Notting Hill Carnival Limited (changed to London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust in 2013), respectively. This re-naming served to solidify its status as a hallmark event, not only for Notting Hill but also for the city of London. The newly formed festival organization worked more closely with London-based government organizations, such as the GLA, RBKC and the MET, and both the festival's organization and festival participants continue to be tightly regulated by them. Both members of the central festival organization and participating organizations during this period spoke about the increasing restrictions posed by the new framing of the festival:

"[…] we also provide stewarding down there, security down there at our own cost and these are things that are increasing year-on-year and we've just agreed that we would bring in more security […] at the request of the police […]"

I15 (member of sound system organization).

"We were always doing it [trying to arrange sponsorship] through the council […] so every year we would have this battle about what we could brand, what we could sell, what rights we had."

I26 (former festival organization head).

Table 8
Development of the Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape (1981 onwards) Source: Adapted from Van der Duim (2007).

		Black Arts Festival 1981-1987	Business Opportunity 1987 – 2001	City-led Hallmark Event 2002 onwards
	Objects acting on the festivalscape (symmetry)	Trinidadian-styled carnival costumes, steel pans, reggae music, static sound systems as well as a glossy magazine and public funding were part of this celebration of Black Arts.	Trinidadian-styled carnival costumes, steel pans, reggae music, static sound systems, the glossy magazine and public funding remained but private sponsorship was the key object in the festivalscape during this period.	Trinidadian-styled carnival costumes, steel pans, reggae music and static sound systems continue to be the cultural forms featured but public funding becomes the main stable source of income for the event.
	Social Space	The streets of Notting Hill which continued to be a stage for race politics.	The streets of Notting Hill became a site for transgressive politics.	The streets of Notting Hill which became a space to be manged and controlled.
Translation	**Focal actor and festival framing**	The CAC wished to promote NHC as a celebration of the arts of Black Britain.	NHCEL wanted to increase funding available to Carnival so that more of its economic benefits could accrue to its participants.	The GLA proposed a more tightly controlled NHC which worked closely city organizations.
	Obligatory passage point	Interest in using Notting Carnival as a vehicle for Black British empowerment.	Compliance with conditions to attract and retain private funding.	Compliance with health and safety requirements.
	Enrolment of actors	Actors enrolled included Ethnic minority funding bodies (for e.g. CRE and GLC).	Actors enrolled included private sponsors, popular music artists and tourists.	Actors enrolled included additional stewards and event evaluation consultants.
	Pivotal events (context of the festival framing)	Withdrawal of ACGB funding from the CDC and the collapse of the CDC.	First death at NHC and the collapse of the CAC.	Firing of Claire Holder and the collapse of NHCT (formerly, NHCEL).

The framing of the event as a product of the city of London also brought benefits for some actors. In 2003, the London Development Agency published the first ever report of the tourism and economic impacts of the NHC, highlighting the significant amounts of visitor spending, increases in income for local businesses and jobs generated by the event (LDA, 2003). This served to justify the continued investment from public sector organizations in an event that had been continuously criticized for its economic and social cost to tax payers and residents. Additionally, following the finalized strategic review published by the GLA (2004), one of the participating cultural organizations received significant funding to host their competition - £150,000 annually from 2007 to 2009. Two key recommendations from the review were for the NHC to focus more on traditional disciplines and for the event to be moved to Hyde Park. Although the latter recommendation was widely rejected by many actors within the festivalscape, the Steel Band Association welcomed relocation of their competition to Hyde Park and the additional funding that came with it, which included money to pay players and professional production fees.

This situation highlights how new forms of order take place in networks because of individual actors seeking their own interests (Law, 2009). In this case, the re-framing served the interests of public sector agencies that could now claim they were more closely managing an event which produced significant tourism and economic benefits for London. The Steel Band Association attracted significant funding for their event (albeit only for three years) by striking an agreement with the focal actor of the event's new framing. Although the current situation has been described previously as the NHC becoming a victim of its own success (see, for example, Burr, 2006), the events leading up to the festival's current framing serve to highlight the complexity of festivalscapes and how fragile the bonds are which hold festival networks together. See Table 8.

7. Discussion: elements of the NHC Festivalscape

Adapting van der Duim's, 2007 concept of a tourismscape has proved useful in unravelling the development of NHC as a hallmark tourism product by tracing its development as a festivalscape. Like van der Duim's, 2007 tourismscape, it features objects, space and the translation processes of the network being investigated. However, with an event like the NHC, which been subject to dramatic upheavals, the role of pivotal events is vital to examining its development. Additionally, as has been the case with other large-scale festivals, dissenting actors have been a persistent and significant part of the NHC festivalscape. They have, together with non-human actors and the festival space, repeatedly brought about translation failure. Whereas objects and space are visible parts of the festivalscape, the translation process, which is impacted by pivotal events and dissenting actors, is invisible. (See Fig. 2.)

7.1. Objects

The NHC's development highlights how human and non-human actors come together in their "collective capacity" to bring about action (Cloke and Jones, 2004: 193). One object that has been particularly influential in the NHC festivalscape is funding or money provided by state agencies as well as sponsors. Recent research has highlighted the integral role money has in tourismscapes in forging relationships, particularly in establishing asymmetrical relations between hosts and their
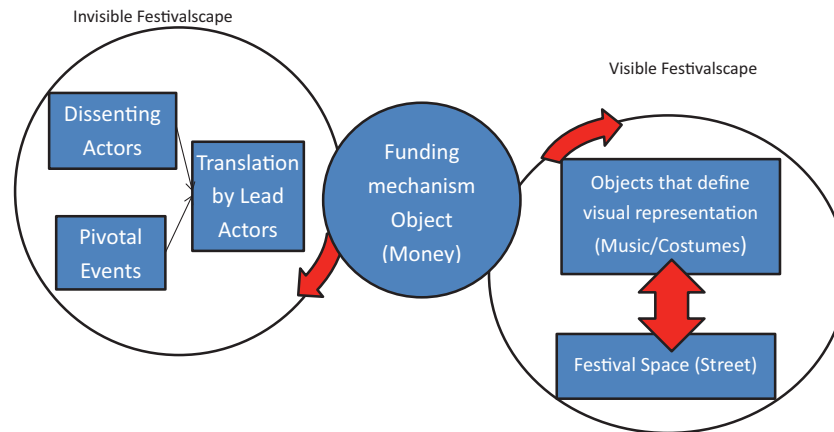
Fig. 2. The Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape.

guests (Simoni, 2016). In the NHC festivalscape, money has been a means of buying access into the festival network and having a say in how it is run. For funding agencies, this has meant levelling criticisms against festival organizers, which have, in some cases, gone on to be the basis of reports recommending organizational change, whilst sponsors (particularly title sponsors) have shaped how the festival has been branded and positioned. Asymmetrical relations have also been created because of funding, as by possession of funding, lead actors have been able to trigger translation change successfully or have their translation accepted.

Trinidadian-type costumes and reggae music, because of their cultural connotation, are both objects that have been "mediated to produce particular outcomes" (Weedon, 2015: 446). The former made the NHC more like a Trinidadian Carnival, whereas the latter opened-up the event to a wider Caribbean audience. However, as Weedon (2015) observes, objects do not always behave as expected and can create unwanted consequences. In the NHC's case, introducing Trinidadian-type costuming invited increased observation by the police because the event was now unmistakably Afro-Caribbean and the addition of reggae music, in addition to drawing huge crowds, made the festival a target for petty crimes.

7.2. The festival space

When Rhuane Laslett was staging her community-based Notting Hill Festival, she saw the streets of Notting Hill as a space offering release from the cramped, slum conditions in which residents of the Notting Hill area lived. Later, when the NHC became linked with the Afro-Caribbean population in Britain, it became a space in which racial tensions between the police and the festival's attendees were acted out. As the area became gentrified, the streets became a site where transgressive activities were performed because, for two days, the streets are claimed by mainly non-white, working class festival participants within what is now a predominantly white, middle-class neighbourhood (Ampka, 2004). Like in tourismscapes, the space in the NHC festivalscape also has important physical functions. The streets are a place in which both static and mobile forms of entertainment can be accommodated. They are also a site allowing easy access both by the attendees and emergency services. Additionally, the Notting Hill area

with its bohemian character provides assets and attractions that add to the festival atmosphere.

7.3. Translation

In a network of dissenting groups, such as the one forming around the NHC, breakdown and reconfiguration are likely to result (Callon, 1986; Woods, 1998). An international festival, which the NHC eventually became, is a complex experience-production system (Ferdinand and Williams, 2013) that must satisfy conflicting actors' needs. As the festival continued grow in scope, so too did the number of actors involved with the event with conflicting agendas. Thus, translation processes within the festivalscape have been somewhat volatile. The increasing involvement of state actors in the festivalscape has fuelled some of the more drastic translation changes, such as the shift from a "Black Arts Festival" to a "Business Opportunity", which highlights their asymmetric power. However, these changes would not be possible without the cooperation of other actors within the NHC festivalscape. Both festival organizers and participating festival organizations have benefited from aligning themselves with state actors. This view contrasts with previous research examining the festival politics of the NHC (see, for example, Cohen, 1993) that have depicted these changes as state actors trying to contain the event within their parameters. However, as Connor and Farrar (2003) note, such a view ignores the social relations existing within the NHC festivalscape.

7.4. Pivotal events and dissenting actors

The focus of ANT is on the interactions between actors and, especially, how lead actors enrol other actors to make their translations successful. However, within the NHC festivalscape, pivotal events were used strategically by lead and dissenting actors in triggering translation change, demonstrating their importance in making the NHC festivalscape. As has been the case in previous ANT research on the development of cultural tourism products, these events have been important triggers resulting in a conditional path of development (Arnaboldi and Spiller, 2011). In complex organizations, pivotal events, such as crises, are often used by an organization's management as justification to push through significant transformational changes which

otherwise would be very difficult or take a very long time to implement. Major crises have also provided opportunities to overhaul entire industries and implement major reforms that affect multiple organization across sectors (Walsh et al., 2015). In the NHC festivalscape, crises, such as the deaths of festival attendees and the collapse of the festival organizations, have been used by lead and external actors to push through their individual agendas and implement fundamental changes. The CAC used the collapse of the CDC to reshape the NHC to serve its own agenda and the deaths of attendees were used by both the RBKC and GLA to shape development of the festival. The former event was used to trigger the development of a festival more focused on Black politics, whereas the latter events were used to create a festival that is highly and controlled and regulated.

The importance of dissenting actors was highlighted when these actors used pivotal events to draw attention to their concerns. On both occasions when deaths occurred at the NHC, there were calls from residents to relocate the festival. Additionally, when other actors sought to trigger change within the festivalscape, the concerns of dissenting actors are highlighted to support their agendas. Notably, when the GLA published its strategic review of the NHC, it included recommendations that addressed the concerns of traditionalists who objected to the more commercial aspects of the festival and residents who wanted the festival relocated.

8. Conclusion: lessons from of the Notting Hill Carnival Festivalscape

ANT analysis has shown six distinct modes of ordering within the NHC festivalscape and that the coming together of actors with competing interests is a necessary part of a multi-cultural event serving tourism, economic and socio-cultural objectives. In this way, this study has contrasted with others on the NHC and other large-scale festivals, which view power relations as a source of unresolved tension, conflict or ambivalence or as something to be classified. In overcoming the limitations of this view, the paper has demonstrated that the process of

actors working through their differing opinions with regards to framing of the festival is one of innovation and adaptation to changing circumstances. It has also shown festival politics as a source of transformation and renewal. Additionally, adopting this relational view of power has provided new insights about the asymmetric power of state actors due to their access to resources and their ability to impact multiple actors within the festivalscape.

This paper has also advanced van der Duim, 2007 tourismscape by the addition of pivotal events and dissenting actors to the NHC's festivalscape. Although they were not the source of translation failure, they were used by lead and other actors to support their arguments to fast-track drastic changes that may otherwise have been difficult to implement. This highlights the importance of festival organizers being proactive in managing crises and the concerns of dissenting actors. Otherwise, these discordant aspects of a festivalscape can be manipulated by influential actors to further their own agendas, which may not be in best interest of the festival.

Festivals, such as the NHC, are known for being fraught with conflicting actor tensions and there can be a tendency to view their development as a chaotic bacchanal, arising out of their peculiar politics, especially when they are examined at a single point in time. A process perspective enables event tourism researchers to go beyond the bacchanal to identify long-term forces and the changing roles of actors. Rather than focus on individual episodes of conflict, failure or success, future tourism research on festivals that utilizes ANT should examine the successive transformations that have occurred over time. In this way, the research may be positioned better to understand the role of actors and future development of festival tourism products. Specific research that could be undertaken includes studies comparing the roles of festivalscapes in urban and rural environments in festival networks, as well studies examining the development of commercial and/or privately-run festivals over time because there may be lessons that community-run or public festival organizations can learn from their experiences and vice versa.

Appendix 1

Interview guide – cultural organization (Mas' band)
About the organization

1. Origins
2. Changes

Path/development of the band

3. Adaptation to changing festival environment

Activities

4. Business models, old and new
5. Challenges of funding environment
6. New activities or business models to meet challenges

Partners/partnership role

7. Role of umbrella organizations
8. Role of the Arts Council
9. Role of the LNHCL
10. Relationships with other mas' bands

Appendix 2

Schedule of interviewees

Interviewees	Organization(s), Date(s) Established	Role(s) in Carnival	Organization Type(s)
I1	Mas' band, 1983	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I2	Mas' band, 2001	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I3	Mas' band, 2001	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I4	Mas' band, 1998	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I5	Mas' band, 2002	CAMF Member	
I6	Mas' band, 1980	CAMF Member	
I7	Steel/mas' band, 1980	BAS/CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I8	Mas' band, 2009	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization
I9	Steel band, 2007	BAS Member	Cultural Organization
	BAS, 1995	BAS Executive	
I10	BAS, 1995	BAS Executive	Cultural Organization
I11	Steel band, 1980	BAS Member	Cultural Organization
	BAS, 1995	BAS Executive	
I12	Steel band, 1969	BAS member, BAS Executive & LNHCL Executive	Cultural Organization/Organizing Committee
	BAS, 1999, LNHCL, 2003		
I13	Steel Band, 1988	Independent steel band leader	Cultural Organization
I14	Static sound system, 2009	BASS Member	Cultural Organization
I15	Static sound system, 1994	BASS Member	Cultural Organization
I16	Steel band,1985	Independent steel band leader	Cultural Organization
I17	Static sound system, 1989	BASS Member	Cultural Organization
I18	NHCEL, NHCL, NHCT, 1989, 1991, 1997	Former Executive member of various NHC Organizing Bodies (1989–2003)	Organizing Committee
I19	ACE (formerly ACGB), 1946	ACE Officer	Statutory Funding body
I20	Steel band, 2000	BAS Member	Cultural Organization
I21	Static sound system, 1970	BASS Member	Cultural Organization
I22	LNHCL, 2003	Former LNHCL Executive (2009–2012)	Organizing Committee
I23	Steel band, 1996	BASS Member, Acting BAS Executive	Cultural Organization
I24	LNHCL, 2003	Former LNHCL Executive (2005–2008)	Organizing Committee
I25	RKBC, 1965	Environmental Health Officer/Special Event Officer responsible for	State Funding Body
I26	LNHCL, 2003	Former LNHCL Executive (2009–2012)	Organizing Committee
I27	Mas' band, 2000	CAMF Member	Cultural Organization

Appendix 3

Listing of archival documents used

Document Type	Details
Internal Report	Stote, S., Walwin, J. & Cleur, A. (1983, September). London Carnivals 1983 [Arts Council report on Carnival] (ACGB/79/138132 Carnival General Correspondence and enquiries) Victoria and Albert Museum Archives, London, United Kingdom
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